

- strengthen peace in the region.

He said that a partition would lead to revisionism, would be anachronistic in the context of globalization, and may set a dangerous precedent. The federal solution was agreed on in 1977 and has since been supported by numerous UN Security Council resolutions. Despite this, the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish side have turned toward confederation in August 1998. He argued that the international community did not deal decisively enough with this turn and drew attention to statements made by the UN Secretary General, as well as European and American officials, that the Cyprus problem has become overlain with legalistic abstractions and artificial labels that pose barriers to addressing the real issues. Nevertheless, he expressed his view that a confederation is "not even a state," and is tantamount to a partition. Therefore, a federation is the only viable solution.

He gave the example of Switzerland, where the label "confederation" does not correspond to the content. Due to historical reasons, Switzerland continues to be labelled as a confederation, while, in fact, it is a classic type of a federation. According to Toumasoz Tsielepis, Mr. Denktash isolates the Swiss labels of confederation and sovereignty of the cantons from their real content and wishes to use them to achieve a separate state.

He drew attention to the UN-led proximity talks and said that proposals submitted by Mr. Denktash were rejected by the former Secretary General because they were too vague and did not correspond to the framework set out by previous UN resolutions. This attitude shifted and Mr. Denktash's proposals were admitted last year. Moreover, the tone of the current Secretary General has changed. During the fourth round of inter-communal talks in New York (September 2000), the framework set by previous UN resolution was effectively removed from the Secretary General's opening statements. In particular, he referred to the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots as two "politically equal parties." This raised questions about what the Secretary General meant by political equality and by using the term "parties," as opposed to communities – terminology used since 1960 until recently. (While a community does not have a right of self-determination, a party is a term used in international law to mean states.) Moreover, the Greek Cypriots were concerned that the opening statement constituted a recognition of the "pseudo-state." According to Toumasoz Tselepis, the Greek Cypriot concerns were not adequately addressed by the Secretary General. Nonetheless, during the fifth round of talks in Geneva (November 2000), a new statement was produced. While it did not fully restore the framework defined previously it came closer. As a result, Mr. Denktash withdrew from the talks and has been refusing to return.

In conclusion Toumasoz Tselepis said that altering the agreed basis for negotiations will not bring a solution closer. On the contrary, Mr. Denktash is encouraged that his objective is feasible. **He appealed to the international community to respect the framework which it itself set up, more specifically "to take a clear and straightforward position in favour of federation and reject confederation."** "The solution of the Cyprus problem will certainly arise through a mutually acceptable compromise, but there is no compromise in this issue, no half way."